

英文要旨

Clitic Doubling of Objects in the Bulgarian Dialect spoken in Brănești: Language Contact and Grammaticalization

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This thesis discusses the clitic doubling of objects in the northeastern Bulgarian dialect spoken in the village of Brănești, Romania. The main purpose of this research is to describe the formal and pragmatic aspects of the phenomenon, and also to analyze it from the viewpoint of language contact and grammaticalization.

Clitic doubling refers to the doubling by a clitic pronoun of a verbal argument inside the same propositional structure—found not only in Bulgarian, but also in other Balkan languages. While this phenomenon has been widely studied in general, Bulgarian dialects—especially those spoken outside the Republic of Bulgaria—have rarely been the target of such studies. This thesis, therefore, focuses on clitic doubling in one such dialect spoken in Brănești, Romania.

The first chapter overviews the distribution and classification of Bulgarian dialects.

The second chapter gives an outline of the clitic doubling of objects, and clitic personal pronouns in the Bulgarian literary language. The author confirmed that clitic doubling is a morpho-syntactic way to topicalize an object. Clitic personal pronouns are usually adjacent to the verb, and may be situated before (preverbal) or after the verb (postverbal) according to the position of the verb in the sentence. It should also be noted that the preverbal position has two structural models: HTLD and CLLD.

The third chapter describes and analyzes the formal and functional aspects of clitic doubling in the Brănești dialect.

The clitic personal pronouns in this dialect display some different features than the literary language, for example they are preverbal regardless of the verb's position in the sentence. This is a feature characteristic of affixes, rather than clitics. This fixed word ordering can also be found in Romanian.

The author also analyzed the use of the accusative marker preposition *pă*, which appears to be a loan word from Romanian. *Pă* can be used only when the object is animate and/or definite. Non-clitic personal pronouns which are lexically definite and animate require use of this preposition.

The clitic doubling of objects with *pă* displays specific behavior, such as mandatory doubling of non-clitic personal pronouns both in the preverbal and postverbal positions. When other nouns co-occur with the preposition *pă*, they are clitic-doubled more often in the postverbal position, unlike in literary language. In contrast, clitic doubling without *pă* is observed mostly in the preverbal position, as in the literary language. It can therefore be asserted that the clitic doubling construction in the Brănești dialect exhibits characteristic features only when this preposition is concerned.

Upon examination of clitic doubling structures, the same structures—such as HTLD and Na-drop in the preverbal, and restriction of the use of RD in the postverbal position—were found. The difference between the Brănești dialect and the literary language can be found only in the use of the preposition.

The function of the clitic doubling construction is also analyzed here. It appears that the pragmatic function of the construction is the same as in the literary language—that being the topicalization of the clitic-doubled object. It should be noted, however, that not only topical, but also some focused objects are clitic-doubled. This suggests that the clitic-doubled object is gradually losing its markedness as a topical phrase.

In the fourth chapter, the clitic doubling construction is analyzed from the viewpoint of grammaticalization.

First, the author explores the process by which the clitic doubling construction is grammaticalized. The clitic doubling construction begins as a topic-shifted construction—a pragmatic device. As time passes, the clitic personal pronouns are reanalyzed as affixes (agreeing with the object) as grammatical markers.

Second, the author analyzes the distribution of this phenomenon using dialect atlases. Not only does the degree of grammaticalization vary between dialects, it also displays a geographical gradient from most grammaticalized in southwestern Macedonia to least grammaticalized in northeastern Bulgaria. It is suggested that the multiethnic and multilingual environment in southwestern Macedonia may have played an important role in the development of the clitic doubling construction from a pragmatic to a grammatical device.

Considering the above, the author hypothesizes that the less grammaticalized clitic doubling in one of the northeastern Bulgarian dialects spoken in Brănești has been grammaticalized through language contact with Romanian.

The author set out to clarify whether the clitic doubling construction in the Brănești dialect is grammaticalized or not, using the parameters of grammaticalization, proposed from the typological point of view. It was determined that, as the clitic doubling

construction displays all four parameters, it may be argued the construction is grammaticalized to a considerable extent.

The degree of grammaticalization differs according to the types of objects. The most grammaticalized clitic doubling can be found only when the object is marked by non-clitic personal pronouns, which must be accompanied by *pă*.

On the other hand, it seems clitic doubling constructions without *pă* are connected to the pragmatic function to topicalize the clitic-doubled object, consequently showing that such constructions remain pragmatic devices, and are not grammaticalized as much in the absence of *pă*.

The most grammaticalized construction of the clitic doubling can be found when the direct object is marked by the aforementioned preposition *pă*, which is borrowed from Romanian. Moreover, the construction of the clitic doubling with this preposition possesses almost the same features as in the model language. The fact that this similarity can be found only in conjunction with the preposition, can be explained by the grammatical replication of the model of Romanian construction.

In the fifth chapter, the author concludes that the clitic doubling construction is grammaticalized through language contact with Romanian. The most grammaticalized clitic doubling can be observed when the clitic-doubled object is followed by the loan word *pă*, showing that the grammaticalization process is triggered by the grammatical replication of the equivalent construction in Romanian.